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ABSTRACT

This study surveyed the effects of bussing nearly 1,200 blacks in the Buffalo (N. Y.) Public Schools from segregated inner city schools to schools where the population was primarily white. The blacks, in grades 5-7, were bussed from 6 inner city schools to 22 receiving schools. Findings include the following: (1) blacks integrated into classes with whites make greater gains in academic achievement than do blacks who remain in segregated schools; (2) whites do not suffer loses in academic achievement as a consequence of integration; (3) principals and teachers in receiving schools believed that the integration program demonstrated positive educational results; (4) parents of black and white pupils involved in the integration program believed that it was educationally sound; and (5) blacks and whites involved in the integration program believed it to be a good idea. (TA)

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BUFFALO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Division of Curriculum Evaluation and Development

A STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF INTEGRATION

A Comparison of Pupil Achievement Before and One Year After Integration

A Survey of the Attitudes of Principals, Teachers, Parents, and Pupils Involved in the Program

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Division of Curriculum Evaluation and Development
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A STUDY OF THE
EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF
INTEGRATION

FINDINGS

* Negro pupils integrated into classes with white pupils make greater gains in academic achievement than do pupils who remain in segregated schools.
* White pupils do not suffer losses in academic achievement as a result of integration.
* Principals and teachers in schools receiving Negro pupils believe that the integration program has demonstrated positive educational results.
* Parents of Negro and white pupils involved in the integration program believe that it is educationally sound.
* Negro and white pupils involved in the integration program believe that it is a good idea.

These conclusions are drawn from a study of the effects of bussing nearly 1,200 Negro pupils in the Buffalo (N.Y.) Public Schools from segregated inner city schools to other schools where the pupil population was composed primarily of white children. The Negro pupils, in grades 5, 6 and 7 were bussed from six inner city schools (37, 39, 48, 53, 59, 74) to 22 receiving schools (9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 22, 30, 42, 43, 44, 45, 51, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 78, 79, 80) where they were integrated into classrooms with white pupils.

This bussing took place in September 1967 as a part of the racial balance program approved by the Buffalo Board of Education upon the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Joseph Manch. Previously, in November 1965, approximately 350 pupils, most of whom were Negro children, were bussed to 12 peripheral schools where the student population was 90 percent or more white and about 210 pupils in grades 1-7 were transferred from School 37 to five other peripheral schools to reduce

class size at School 37(1). Further transfers from inner city schools to peripheral schools in 1966 have increased the number of inner city children being integrated in classes in peripheral schools to over 2,000.

Comparison of Pupil Achievement

In preparation for this transfer, all white and Negro pupils in grades 5, 6 and 7 in both the sending and the receiving schools were tested early in June 1967. The Stanford Achievement Test (1964 Edition) Intermediate Level II, Form X, was used to pre-test grades 5 and 6 and the Advanced Level, Form X was used to pre-test grade 7. The Intermediate Level II, Form X contained sub-tests on Word Meaning, Paragraph Meaning, Arithmetic Computation and Arithmetic Concepts. The Advanced Level, Form X, contained sub-tests in Paragraph Meaning, Arithmetic Computation, Arithmetic Concepts, and Arithmetic Applications.

After one year, in June 1968, all pupils, now in grades 6, 7 and 8, were again tested. The Stanford Achievement Test (1964 Ed.) Intermediate Level II, Form X, was used for grade 6 and the Advanced Level, Form X, was used for grades 7 and 8. All answer sheets were scored by an IBM Optical Scanner with Card Punch Model 530. Data processing of score conversion and statistical analysis was performed on a Honeywell 200 computer.

A total of 3,051 pupils was tested both in June 1967 and June 1968 and matched. Pupils who did not take both the pre-test and the post-test were excluded from the analysis.

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(1) A Study, issued in March 1967, of the Reading Achievement of the pupils transferred from Schools 15 and 37 to other schools, as compared with the pupils who remained at School 37, showed positive gains for the bussed pupils after one year of integrated education.

The research design for the study, prepared by the Director of Evaluation of the Buffalo Public Schools with consultative advice from research personnel at the State University of New York at Buffalo, posited three hypotheses. These were:

1. Black children will gain in achievement more rapidly in an integrated class than in a segregated class.
2. White children from segregated white classes will gain in achievement at a normal rate after their classes have become integrated.
3. Negro children will continue to gain at a lower rate of achievement in segregated black classes if they remain in such classes.

To check the three hypotheses, the data were treated in different ways. The achievement of Negro children in integrated classes was compared with that of Negro children who remained in segregated black classes and with white children in integrated classes. The sub-tests, Paragraph Meaning, of the Intermediate II, Form X, and the Advanced Level, Form X were selected for this comparison, since these tests most nearly correlate with successful school achievement. The statistical results of this treatment are shown in Table I.

Table I

Differences in achievement in Paragraph Meaning, as shown by mean grade equivalent scores and mean growth for each group.

GRADE EQUIVALENT SCORES

Grade Level	Mean of Pre-Test 6/67	Mean of Post-Test 6/68	Mean Growth	Mean Growth for Group
INTEGRATED NEGRO PUPILS				
5-6	3.9	4.5	.6	
6-7	5.3	6.1	.8	.83
7-8	5.8	6.9	1.1	
NEGRO PUPILS REMAINING IN SEGREGATED INNER CITY SCHOOLS				
5-6	4.0	4.8	.8	
6-7	5.2	5.4	.2	.56
7-8	5.2	5.9	.7	
WHITE PUPILS IN RECEIVING SCHOOLS				
5-6	5.3	6.5	1.2	
6-7	6.6	7.6	1.0	1.23
7-8	7.1	8.6	1.5	

Grade Level = grade for pre-test, June 1967 and grade for post-test, June 1968

Interpretation of Table I:

1. The pre-test scores clearly show that white pupils started higher in each grade.
2. Negro pupils who were integrated and Negro pupils who remained segregated in inner city schools started at about the same point, except for grades 7-8 where the integrated pupils were higher than the non-integrated Negro pupils.

3. The post-test scores show that the white pupils gained the most in the year at each grade level and in mean growth (1.23). This analysis does not show how the annual growth of the white pupils compares with their previous rate of growth.
While it was not possible to isolate the scores of white pupils in this study for previous years, it was possible to analyze the scores achieved in Paragraph Meaning in these 22 schools in the grades in which the children were or should have been for the three years previous. During these years the annual average gain was between 0.8 and 0.9.

4. Negro pupils who were integrated gained in mean growth (.83) at a rate higher than the non-integrated Negro pupils whose mean growth was (.56).

SURVEY OF ATTITUDES OF PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS, PARENTS AND PUPILS

In order to determine aspects of the racial balance program other than the academic achievement of the pupils, a questionnaire survey of attitudes and opinions of persons involved in the program was made. Questionnaires were sent to all principals in the receiving schools and to a random sample of teachers who had bussed pupils in their classes and to pupils and their parents.

All survey questionnaires were, by direction, returned unsigned and there was no way to determine who responded or failed to respond.

A summary of the survey is contained in Table III.

Table III

SUMMARY OF SURVEY RESPONSES
INTEGRATION STUDY

	Number Sent	Number Returned	Percent Returned	Percent who think the bussing-integration program is educationally sound, demonstrated positive results, or is a good idea.
Principals	22	17	77	75
Teachers	22	20	91	85
Negro Parents	160	45	28	91
White Parents	264	161	61	71
Negro Students	160	41	26	76
White Students	264	165	63	71

A detailed analysis of the questionnaire survey follows. Also included in each classification are unedited comments of principals, teachers, parents and pupils as they appeared on the questionnaires returned.

PRINCIPAL SURVEY

Twenty-two principals of receiving schools were sent questionnaires. Seventeen, or 77% were returned. These principals responded as follows:

Percent of Non-White Pupils in School

Number of Schools	% of Non-White Pupils
4	less than 5%
8	5% to 10%
2	11% to 20%
1	21% to 30%

Principals said school and pupil characteristics had changed after integration as follows:

Achievement:

6% higher or significantly higher
44% no change
50% somewhat lower or significantly lower

Intelligence:

0% higher or significantly higher
63% no change
37% somewhat lower or significantly lower

Incidence of discipline problems:

13% somewhat lower or significantly lower
13% no change
74% higher or significantly higher

Appearance of building and classroom:

0% better appearance or significantly better
56% no change
44% poorer or significantly poorer

Non-White students' attitude toward the new school environment:

44% seem to be satisfied or enthusiastic
23% no evident change
33% show a negative or rebellious attitude

Principals responded to the effect of integration upon the white student in their schools in terms of:

Achievement:

0% white students have shown gain or considerable gain in achievement
93% white students have remained the same in achievement level
7% white students have shown a considerable loss in achievement level

Social Behavior:

73% white students are getting along fairly well or extremely well with non-white students
27% there doesn't seem to be much change in social behavior because of the bussing and integration program

As educators, principals responded that integration of non-white pupils in their schools has demonstrated positive results as follows:

73% yes

27% no

Principals Commented as Follows:

"I should like to explain what seems a contradition in answers. The level of achievement in the school seems to be lower, but this is not due primarily to the question of intergration per se. The neighborhood is changing, particularly with a more educated group moving out and a lower socio-economic group moving in."

"Also, the bussed-in children, on the surface and as far as behavior goes, do not seem to be too unhappy."

"The purpose, I thought, was to raise the level of achievement of the Negro Children. I have found that some children are better than our own and many are the same as the children who belong in this area and they are people who need as much help as the children who are being bussed into the school."

"It is difficult to assess the results based on a small number of students."

"Some of the non-white students have been surly and seem negative in approach and general outlook. It seems to be a matter of individual differences in attitudes. Of course, 7th and 8th grade is too late to begin bussing or integrating. Adolescent pupils have quite strongly established habits and attitudes before they come to a new school."

"Approximately 12 new pupils were put into each 7th and 8th grade last year. Most of them came with all failing marks and with low achievement levels. Those who came with good marks found they had to work much harder. Not many new friendships were made -- and most of these pupils formed a group within each class."

"However, about half of these pupils who are here this year are now assimilated and have made some friends."

"This year when bus pupils have been screened so that they were about the same achievement level, the school has been able to function approximately the same as before bussing."

"Last year, children at 3rd grade level of achievement who were defiant and disturbed caused so much trouble that lessons could not be taught as before. They set a poor example of non-whites. The bus children this year have come ready to learn and to behave."

"The conclusion I draw is that integration should start at an earlier age before wrong attitudes have been established; and that pupils should be at about the same achievement level so that they can work together harmoniously."

TEACHER SURVEY

Of the 22 sent out, twenty surveys or 91% were returned. They responded on their non-white class membership as follows:

Number of Teachers	Non-White Class Membership
4	less than 5%
8	5% to 10%
4	11% to 20%
2	21% to 30%
1	31% to 40%
1	over 40%

Characteristics of the class after integration are considered by the teachers as follows:

Achievement:

6% higher or significantly
63% no change
31% somewhat lower or significantly lower

Intelligence:

0% higher or significantly higher
94% no change
6% somewhat lower or significantly lower

Incidence of discipline problems:

29% somewhat lower or significantly lower
24% no change
47% higher or significantly higher

Appearance of buildings and classrooms:

6% better or much better
63% no change
31% somewhat poorer or significantly poorer

Non-white students' attitude toward new school environment:

56% seem satisfied or enthusiastic
19% no change
25% negative or rebellious attitude

Teachers responded to the effect bussed pupils have upon the white students in their classes in terms of:

Achievement:

0% white students have shown some gain or considerable gain in achievement level
100% white students have remained the same in achievement level
0% white students have shown a considerable loss in achievement level

Social Behavior:

70% white students are getting along fairly well or extremely well with non-white students
15% there doesn't seem to be much change in social behavior because of the bussing and integration program
15% white students show indifference or are definitely not getting along with non-white students

As educators, teachers felt that integration of non-white pupils in their schools has demonstrated positive results as follows:

85% yes

15% no

Teachers Commented as Follows:

"It seems to me that our results would be more satisfactory if it were possible to screen out both white and non-white pupils suffering from severe emotional disturbances. We would be able to accomplish so very much more. The whole program would then be a pleasant experience for all concerned. Some non-white children are delightful to have in the classroom and are always accepted by everyone."

"It is unfortunate that one or two tend to spoil a very favorable learning climate and give support to arguments against integration."

"Non-white students do not get along with other non-white students. I have encountered few instances of white and non-white friction. The majority of the problems lie in the realm of non-white --- non-white relationships."

"The program would be more effective scholastically and socially if begun in the early grades."

"Children's attitudes toward one another are good but to my knowledge contact does not extend outside of school - possibly due to distances - or parental pressures."

"Since our bussed children this year are for the most part very good, discipline and interest in school have remained the same."

"In our school, I think the program is effective and worth continuing."

"This is an unfair analysis for an educator. In many instances the child came with a lower rating and therefore needed far greater help than one could allow, therefore, all children lost in such instances."

"Where children were chosen from nearly the same levels in own school, there was much gained by all children."

"It is surprising how quickly young children adjust to each other if the teacher makes the child feel welcome."

"The answer is yes, if the aim was to raise the level of achievement of the non-white children. However, my experience with four students last year showed the extremely low achievement in every area because of their lack of background --- basic concepts, understandings, and skills. Through working with them independently, a few did show much growth. However, they realized they lacked more basic ideas than any of the schools lowest white children during the normal procedures. The children who are ready for new work and progress cannot be held back to wait for these few to grasp the early primary concepts. They need much remedial reading and mathematics concepts and skills."

PARENT SURVEY

Parents of Negro Children

Of 160 surveys sent to parents of Negro children, 45 or 28% of the surveys were returned. All parents had children in fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth grade.

Asked their opinion of the bussing program, these parents in the Inner City responded in the following areas:

Child's interest in school:

60% improved or greatly improved
31% stayed the same
9% declined or declined a great deal

Child's behavior in school:

49% improved or greatly improved
38% stayed the same
13% declined or declined a great deal

Child's attitude toward the white pupils:

73% have a satisfactory or enthusiastic attitude
20% no change
7% have a negative or rebellious attitude

Child's school achievement:

54% improved or greatly improved
30% stayed the same
16% declined or declined a great deal

Child's attitude toward bussing program:

67% favorable or very favorable
13% neutral
20% unfavorable or very unfavorable

When asked if they felt the bussing and integration program were educationally sound, Negro parents responded:

91% yes
9% no

Parental response as to whether or not they wished their children to continue in classes in their present school was:

78% yes
22% no

Negro Parents Commented as Follows:

"My children have learned more about the city since they were bussed. Know how to go to different places and so far, I have not had any complaint in the school about my children, and the teachers get along fine since both of them in this school are in the 90 bracket. They get along with the white children very fine in school and after."

"My children who are bussed like the idea, now that it has continued this long. I want it continued. They have made many white friends and they like their principal and teachers, all but one. The white kids have learned there is no difference in children of all races and have accepted that fact. I have been there to visit, and such warm reception I never received at an all Negro school. Thanks again for the bussing program."

"Until my children were bussed their interest in school was enthusiastic. Opening of school was anxiously awaited during summer vacation. Now it is different. They have to be coaxed to get up and get to school on time. I sincerely feel after several visits to the school, that the children are not treated properly. Rather than bussing, I think the money should be used to provide adequate schools in their neighborhood."

"I am very pleased the way my daughter has improved in all of her subjects. The integration program is wonderful. I wish all the schools were integrated, because we still have a long way to go."

"To me it doesn't make sense for my child to go 15 or 20 miles when he or she could go nearest to their home, and I don't approve of it and will not bus my child."

"My child has made a great improvement in school. I am very pleased with his school. I have been out to visit his teachers; they are very nice I think."

"I think bussing is a very good idea. There should be more bussing, mainly when they are in 5, 6, 7 grades. My child's attitudes were very good in every way; so were her marks. Any they still are very good."

Parents of White Children

Of 264 surveys sent to parents of white children, 161 or 61% were returned. These parents had children in the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth grade. Ninety-four percent had children in classrooms with less than eleven black children.

Parents responded to changes that have taken place in their children as follows:

Child's interest in school:

11% improved or greatly improved
86% stayed the same
3% declined or declined a great deal

Child's behavior in school:

6% improved or greatly improved
90% stayed the same
4% declined or declined a great deal

Child's behavior toward bussed pupils:

56% favorable or very favorable
37% don't know
7% unfavorable or very unfavorable

Child's school achievement:

15% improved or greatly improved
80% stayed the same
5% declined or declined a great deal

Asked if they considered having bussed children in their child's classroom educationally sound, white parents responded:

71% yes
29% no

Asked if they wished their child to continue in classes with bussed children, they responded:

79% yes
21% no

White Parents Commented as Follows:

"I believe in racial equality and if other people want their children bussed to the school where my children go, I want my children to accept them as they would anybody else."

"I have four daughters attending 72, and thus far have not heard one complaint against the bussed children. Maybe if we all got along as well as the children do, this would be a better world."

"I feel that integration should begin in the lower grades so that all children have the same educational background. Bringing non-white pupils into the upper grades causes many disruptions, and unless the white child is fortunately bright, he will be held back in his work while non-white children catch up. Unfortunately, these children present behavior problems that might not be as bad if they had observed proper discipline while younger. Their dislike and distrust of the white children is very noticeable, probably because their feelings are set by the time they've reached this age."

"I feel this is beneficial since the child will accept a racial different as an equal, and this concept will be likely to continue throughout life. Therefore, although this may not be a cure all to tensions, it will alienate some problems we now face. In addition, to know someone different than ourselves, helps us to see them as individuals, not as groups through a person-to-person relationship."

"Being a member of the minority group, I am for what will best serve humanity; so what is better than people of all colors, creed and religion being exposed to each other's culture, hopefully leading to understanding and living in peace with your fellowmen."

"I see no great difference in my child's attitude or work since attending school with non-white pupils, but believe it will teach white students tolerance and understanding if they spend their school hours with non-white students, as well as white. This system will be very beneficial to both races."

"It is a great injustice to the bussed non-white child in forcing him to commute 2 or 3 miles out of his neighborhood in order to appease a minority militant pressure group. This does not represent the wishes or desires of either the non-white parent or the white parent. It can only aggrevate racial tensions."

"It is necessary for students to have a well-rounded quality integrated classroom. Children should be exposed to all types of races, creeds, colors, so that they are able to develop into mature adults capable of adjusting to a realistic society in the adult world. Integration should, however, be started at the primary or kindergarten level, as this is the time children are least prejudiced and most receptive to learning. Also parent seminars, community education, programs such as the opening of public school for adult activities, and family activity of an interest to the entire family is necessary to promote understanding of one another. To date there has been such a separation of black and white students and families, that the school must portray the part of a cultural center allowing both cultures to adjust and learn from one another."

"Children should attend school in their own community. In case of emergency, many parents would find it a hardship to go and get this child."

"It doesn't bother me one way or another. After all, these children have a right to an education no matter where it may be."

"No complaints re: bussing of children to this school, but would not want my children bussed out of this area. Have purchased property in area principally because of nearness to schools."

"Give the bussed-in pupils the same education as the white pupils, but do keep the children in their own area."

"In adult life we meet people from all walks of life. People tend to like and approve all situations that are familiar to them. My son's life has been enriched at an early age through the meeting and understanding of people from different backgrounds."

STUDENT SURVEY

Negro Students

Of the 160 forms sent to inner city students, 41 or 26% were returned. Eighty-One percent of the returns were from seventh and eighth grade students. They gave their opinion as follows:

Interest in School:

65% improved or greatly improved
28% stayed the same
7% declined or declined a great deal

Behavior in School:

49% improved or greatly improved
34% stayed the same
17% declined or declined a great deal

Attitude toward white student:

97% good or very good
3% poor or very poor

School Achievement:

56% improved or greatly improved
24% stayed the same
20% declined or declined a great deal

Attitude toward the bussing and integration program:

79% good or very good
21% poor or very poor

Negro students feel that the bussing and integration program is a good idea as follows:

76% yes
24% no

Negro students wish to continue in their present receiving schools in this way:

73% yes
27% no

Negro Students Commented as Follows:

"I, _____, as a student of School _____, think that if the whites and the blacks will ever reunite, it will be by the process of the school children grouping up together, and by the bussing program. This brings whites and blacks together starting this process."

"I get along very well at my school. My teachers are understanding. Sometimes there is a problem, but not too great that can't be ironed by our principal or our teachers. I want to continue the school I now attend until I graduate from the eighth grade. My mother didn't like the idea at first, but she does now and thinks it should be continued just like I do. Thank you, for this opportunity to attend the white school #80 and thank them for accepting me the way they did."

"I don't think color should be talked about so much by classroom teachers."

"Being bussed is good for furthering my education. It also helped up my marks."

"Please keep us in the school. I like the idea, I have many friends, and the teachers and principal are ideal. Any problem there is can be ironed out okay. Thank you for this opportunity to be bussed."

"Well for one thing there are more schools closer to my house that I would like to go to. It is not that I don't like white people, I like them just as like they were my color."

"It is a better idea, and you learn more. We have all kinds of hops, plays, clubs on Thursdays, free homework periods. I didn't have this at the other schools."

"I think that children like us that are being bussed out should stay where we belong, because we learn just the same out there as we learn here in school around us. Plus I feel that it is unreasonable to wait out

in the cold weather for 30 minutes when we could be in school. Also out there there are no recreation areas such as swimming pools, more Home Economics rooms, larger gyms and after school dancing."

"I like the school very well. And would like to say that it is better than an all negro school. Some of the white students treat me as he or she would treat a white student. I get along with the white very well and they get along with me very well also."

White Students

Of the 264 survey forms sent to white students, 165 or 63% were returned. Ninety-four percent of the students are in classrooms whose enrollment includes less than eleven non-white students.

The students responded to the change since bussed children have come to their classes as follows:

Interest in school:

17% improved or greatly improved
80% stayed the same
3% declined or declined a great deal

Behavior in school:

16% improved or greatly improved
81% stayed the same
3% declined or declined a great deal

Attitude toward bussed pupils:

96% good or very good
4% poor or very poor

School achievement:

25% improved or greatly improved
70% stayed the same
5% declined or declined a great deal

Asked if they felt having bussed pupils in the classroom is a good idea, the white students responded:

71% yes
29% no

They answer as follows to whether they wished to continue in classes with bussed children:

79% yes
21% no

White Students Commented as Follows:

"Some of my best friends are bus girls. They are polite and like to learn. I hope the city keeps up the good work and likes the program as much as I do."

"At first, I suppose, the white kids felt uneasy when around the Negro kids, and vice versa. After a while we developed special friendships and began to understand each other well. I guess with so many problems of racism, we felt obligated to get to know each other well, so we could make a judgement for ourselves if there was any reason for racism itself."

"I think they should have a school by their homes somewhere so they would not have to take a bus back and forth to school."

"I think that the bussed people should remain under any circumstances and should be fair treated like any other child. One of the bussed children is my best friend and very smart."

"Having non-white kids in my class doesn't bother me in the least."

"I think the bussed-in pupils should have a better attitude towards the teachers."

"I feel that all schools should be integrated to make better communities for the future. Working, going to school with children of different race, color or religion should be done. We should all work together and try to make our city a better one by helping each other. I enjoy having other people of another color around me. I do not judge the color of a person but just their personality. I have many colored friends in school (and they are the nicest friends I have ever had)."

"The bus kids are okay. I haven't got anything against them. Some of them are a little wild but not that bad. I don't really care one way or the other. I think they liven up the class a little. Some of the bus kids are real nice and I like them a lot, but some of the others I don't like much. I don't like some of the white kids either."

"They learn things from us and we learn things from them."

"There is nothing wrong with going through school with bussed children no matter what color they are. We are all God's children."

"I have learned that I could get along better with the core area children."

"Most of the bussed kids at our school get along very well with the other kids, in fact, we are mostly good friends with them."

"I get along very well with the colored students, and I don't see any reason why they shouldn't be in my rooms."

"I like them very much, but I don't think they should have to be bussed, but instead live where they want to so they don't have to be bussed in."

"Just because these children are a different color doesn't mean they aren't as good as we are. I myself got along with them very well. I think they are all very nice once you get to know them. I know how hard it must be for them to adjust to being in a classroom with mostly all white children, but they are nice to have in the same room as I. What right have people to judge another person by the color of their skin and not by their personality."

"I really don't mind as long as there is no trouble."